

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

FIGHT RACISM

Refugees are welcome here

***We need houses
and jobs for all!***

**Anti Nazi
League**

**RAGE
AGAINST
RACISM**

**CARNIVAL SEPT 13TH
ADMISSION FREE**

**Revelino; Nick Kelly; Mark
Dignam; Glen Hansard; Fallen
Angels; Dr Millar; Sadre**

**Assemble 2.30pm Garden of
Remembrance, Dublin—March to
Carnival at Civic Offices Park, Wood
Quay**

JAIL THESE GANGSTERS



HAUGHEY

- Lied eleven times and cost the tribunal millions;
- Evaded tax on a massive scale;
- Took bribes from Ben Dunne and others unnamed;
- Appointed Des Traynor to the board of Aer Lingus so he could enjoy free travel to the Caymen Islands.

LOWRY

- Lied several times to the Dail in his resignation speech;
- Ran two off-shore accounts to avoid tax;
- Used the tax amnesty but failed to declare full extent of tax evasion;
- Built a house extension without planning permission to evade taxes.



How Fianna Fail looked after their own

HAUGHEY worked a system whereby wealthy backers of Fianna Fail were looked after. And many of the present cabinet were involved in the job.

CARYSFORT: Mary O'Rourke ordered UCD to buy land there at inflated prices. It just happened to be owned by one Pino Harris who provided transport for Fianna Fail election campaigns.

GOODMAN: Got huge grants and tax loans from the Haughey cabinet in 1987. He has never been prosecuted for the tax evasion in his companies. Goodman was a card carrying member of Fianna Fail and made large donations to the party.

NATIONAL CITY BROTHERS: This company owned by Dermot Desmond got many of the plum "consultancy" contracts from Fianna Fail including a study of Aer Lingus and

the privatisation of Irish Life. Desmond passed on the plans of Aer Lingus to Celtic Helicopters owned by Ciaran Haughey.

SMURFIT: Had to resign as chairman of Telcom Eireann after it was revealed he attended meetings which discussed renting sites he had an interest in. Also believed to be a financial backer of Fianna Fail.

Why is Ahern protecting Burke?

BERTIE AHERN says he fully agrees with the McCracken Tribunal but he must not have read what it says.

McCracken argued, "The acceptance of large gifts or payments in a surreptitious manner... by even one or two government ministers is deeply damaging to trust in politics."

So why has he appointed

Ray Burke as Foreign Minister?

Burke has admitted getting £30,000 from a builder. And he has not explained if he paid tax on this huge donation.

Like Haughey, Burke claims that this was a "normal" contribution and no favours were done!

Ahern is protecting him because they were both Haughey's right hand men. It looks like a case of hang together or hang separately.

Ansbacher: The bird has flown

Haughey was only one of the wealthy and famous people who used the secret Ansbacher account to send their money to the tax free Cayman Islands.

In all £38 million was stashed away in this account.

But as soon as the name of the account was mentioned at the McCracken tribunal, the rich crooks moved their money out.

Why hasn't the fanatical law and order Justice Minister, John O'Donoghue used the Criminal

Assets Bureau to seize all the paperwork connected with the account and investigate all who co-operated in the removal of the money?

You guessed: Zero tolerance only applies to the poor.

Where is FF's zero tolerance?

Bertie Ahern is lying when he says that Haughey has nothing to do with Fianna Fail today.

Charles J Haughey canvassed for his son, Sean, during the last General Election. He toured around in official *Vote Sean Haughey* cars. While Fianna Fail prattles on about zero tolerance, they have stood over a situation where Haughey:

■ gets driven around in a state car;

■ sits on the Council of State which advises the President;

■ has a special Garda squad assigned to protect him in his Kinsealy mansion.

Ben Dunne got political favours

THE MCCRACKEN report claims that Ben Dunne got no political favours for all his donations.

He must have been blind to the evidence.

LOW TAXES

Dunnes Stores is organised as a "trust" which means it pays less taxes than other companies. One estimate claims that the company had saved £100 million in taxes this way.

Haughey set up meetings between Dunnes and the Revenue Commissioners —but McCracken claimed this was "normal" activity.

PLANNING PERMISSION

Dunnes Stores have never had a problem with planning permission when opening shops.

A Fine Gael TD Paul McGrath revealed that Lowry leaned on him when he tried to object to planning permission for a new Dunnes shop.

ANTI-MONOPOLY RULES

In the 1980s, Ray Burke introduced a minimum price rule to prevent below cost selling.

But when Dunnes Stores launched the bread and milk wars, they were able to sell at below cost prices to beat their rivals.

Ray Burke quietly dropped his law to facilitate Dunnes.

The end of free education

THE CELTIC TIGER is changing the habits of the Irish rich. In the past they boasted that they went to the same schools as the rest of us and "worked their way up". But not any more.

The rich are sending their sons and daughters to expensive private schools in big numbers.

So high is the demand that there is now a waiting list that covers entry to these schools well beyond the year 2,000. Here are some of their favourite choices.

■ **Alexandra College:** Fees are £1,850 plus an additional £3,330 for boarders. But you better take elocution lessons if you come from Dublin's Northside.

■ **Belvedere College:** Follow in the footsteps of Tony O'Reilly by paying an annual fee of £1,635. Give your son the right to wear the old school tie when going for those important jobs.

■ **Columba's College:** You want your son to sound and talk like Ivan Yates? Boarding costs £6,315 in the snobbiest school of all.

■ **Midleton College:** There are plenty of the better sort of people in Cork too, you know. Boarding costs £3,276 but the school boasts its own private nine hole golf course.

Bishops boycott sex education

THE BISHOPS are trying to water down a new sex education programme due to start in primary schools.

A spokesperson even argued that the issue was already dealt with in religion classes.

Opportunity

The Relationships and Sexuality Education programme (RSE) at the Primary level is supposed to give children an opportunity to talk about their relation-

ships and sex.

In a 1991 ESRI survey, only one in five children said that they were satisfied with the sex education they got in schools. They felt ill informed, and stated that most of their education on sex came from discussions among friends.

Less than five schools out of 3,202 have registered opposition to the new programme.

But the government is still giving into the clerical pressure by allowing local school boards, which are normally chaired by a parish priest, to decide how the programme will be implemented.

Charged for speaking out against corruption

MICHAEL LOWRY was first exposed for taking bribes from Ben Dunne in November 1996. Nearly a year later he still has not been asked to come to a Garda station to account for himself.

It is a different story for Dr Peadar O'Grady. This election candidate for the Socialist Workers Party was arrested for denouncing the corrupt links between Haughey and Ben Dunne. Gardai arrived outside the

Rathmines Shopping Centre where he was holding an election meeting and told him he had to stop because of the Public Order Act.

When he insisted on his democratic right to promote his election policies, he was immediately arrested.

The Rathmines police later claimed that Dr O'Grady assaulted a police sergeant inside their station.

This is a blatant attempt to frame an election candidate who tried to denounce the corruption which is now exposed.

what we think

Haughey and Lowry: JUST THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

JUSTICE McCracken's report has been praised for its "clarity" and "honesty" in pointing to the crimes of Charles J Haughey and Michael Lowry.

But it is the clarity that comes from catching a thief red-handed with their fingers in the till.

McCracken had little choice but to state the obvious fact that both these politicians lied and evaded their taxes.

However while Haughey and Lowry are exposed for the crooks they are, McCracken has also tried to protect the system which produced them.

Throughout the report it is claimed that no real political favours were given for the money that Dunne handed over.

Argued

The judge argued that Dunne was simply "an impetuously generous person". The conclusion drawn is that Lowry and Haughey were sim-

ply two "bad apples".

Now, this is pure nonsense. Haughey dominated Irish politics for over a decade and his key supporters are running Fianna Fail today.

Lowry was the chairperson and chief fund-raiser of Fine Gael. He was able to get Bruton to turn up like a messenger boy to collect Fine Gael's cheque from Dunne.

If both of these key figures in the main parties were involved in bribery and corruption, it is impossible that those around them did not know.

For years, top politicians have tried to pretend that they are above the sordid world of finance and were unaware of who gave donations to their parties.



McCracken's tribunal has shown this to be a lie — but then it failed to draw the obvious conclusion that if politicians knew where the money came from, they must have been influenced in their deci-

sion making.

The reality is that Ahern and Bruton are front men for big business. The so called "normal" donations they receive are designed to ensure that they have party machines that

run this country in the interests of profit.

If we want to root out corruption, we will have to tackle the system that still puts business interests above the needs of working people.

SPRING SHIFTS LEFT BUT IT'S ALL TALK

DICK SPRING is again denouncing the Golden Circle that dominates Irish politics.

But his record when he was in office does not match the rhetoric.

Spring helped to introduce the tax amnesty scheme from which Lowry and, probably, Ray Burke benefited.

Scandal

He justified the passports-for-sale scandal even though he knew that the money went directly into Albert Reynolds's factory. He did nothing to reverse the Supreme Court decision that all cabinet decisions had to remain confidential — even though this helped Haughey to cover up his support for Goodman and others.

Spring is only denouncing corruption today because he wants to re-build a Labour Party that was devastated because of its sell-outs. If he ever gets back into office, he will preside over the same system he did

before.

The alternative is to push for workers' action to tackle the power of big business.

In the early eighties, the establishment were terrified by the huge tax marches that expressed the anger of PAYE workers.

Tragically, these marches were called off by a union leadership that listened to the advice of Labour leaders like Spring and Barry Desmond. They argued that tax inequalities had to be sorted out in the debating chambers of Dail Eir-eann.

The revelations today show that this strategy has been a failure. The rich are as arrogant about evading tax as they were a decade ago. It is time that rank and file trade unionists forced their leaders to call for the jailing of Haughey and Lowry. But in doing so we should also demand that the whole tax burden is shifted onto the big business backers of the main parties.

Keep up the pressure to break Partnership 2000

IRELAND vies with the United States for having the highest growth in inequality of incomes.

This is the finding of a recent paper from the ESRI, entitled *The earnings distribution and Return to Education in Ireland 1987-1994*.

It provides additional evidence that the Celtic Tiger boom is increasing class division.

The report shows that the numbers who are officially on low income have risen from one fifth to nearly one quarter of the workforce.

Income

Only the United States has a higher number who are officially on low pay. The American rulers pride themselves on their "labour flex-

ibility" policies and the absence of protective legislation.

These figures tear a hole in the argument that the Partnership 2000 agreement protects the low paid.

The reality is that by tying the hands of the trade unions, they have given the employers a free hand to introduce "Yellow pack" grades.

However opposition to Partnership 2000 is rising. The other side of the boom has been a growing level of confidence among workers.

As companies declare astronomical profits and take on extra staff many workers feel they are in a better position to

get more than the agreement offers.

The growing anger among workers is causing concern among Ireland's elite. They are desperate to maintain the agreement which has guaranteed such success for the wealthy.

This why the most recent economic commentary from the ESRI written by Terry Baker calls for extra tax cuts for workers in the November budget.

Restraint

Baker has traditionally called for restraint from workers but now he sees tax cuts as a way of taking pressure off Partnership 2000. Workers will of course welcome cuts in

PAYE tax — but there is no reason why they should accept tiny wage rises as a trade off.

Businesses have seen Corporation tax on profits, cut by 4 percent in the last two years — and they did not have to accept a cut in profits.

The naked greed of the employers during the Celtic Tiger boom shows that social partnership is a fraud. Now is the time for workers to press through local claims that break the P2000 agreement.

The electricians have recently won a 33% pay rise. Groups like the nurses and paramedics also won substantial increases.

These gains should set benchmarks for other workers to follow.

Playing with tokens

THE UNIONIST MP, John Taylor, has welcomed the decision of Queen's Students' Union to remove notices that contained the Irish language.

He claims that it will lead to a more "neutral environment" that Protestant students will find more hospitable.

But the union's bi-lingual policy was massively endorsed in a referendum in 1994. Students recognised that sectarianism was not caused by a few people speaking Irish or putting up posters which contained the language.

Taylor's concern is pure hypocrisy. In the past he has insisted that God Save the Queen must be played at graduation ceremonies. This was designed to send a triumphalist message to remind Catholics that they are second class citizens. Nor should anyone be fooled by the claim that the Chinese language should have as much rights as the Irish language.

Taylor has never been a

friend of immigrants. In the past he has aligned himself with the French nazi Le Pen in the European parliament.

Taylor's real aim is to keep Protestant and Catholic students divided over tokens that make little difference to their lives.

Organise

Next year, students need to organise against the Labour's government's decision to introduce fees and abolish grants.

Instead of debating which language the posters are produced in we need to organise against the fees, it is far more important to mobilise all students to fight these attacks.

A united campaign of huge demonstrations and sit-ins will be the best answer to bigots like Taylor.

And if the slogans are written in English, Irish and Chinese — so much the better.

Defend the right to free speech!

■ Jail the corrupt politicians!

■ Drop the charges against Peadar O'Grady

National Demonstration

Saturday 27th September

3pm

Parnell Square Dublin

Bring Union Banners

Phone (01) 872 2682 for details

Dr Peadar O'Grady has been charged under the Public Order Act for speaking out about corruption while holding an election meeting outside the Rathmines Centre.

Dr O'Grady was a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party in Dublin South East.

If the police get away with using the Public Order Act to stop an election meeting, it will represent a grave attack on civil liberties.

Trade unionists and everyone concerned about free speech should build for this demonstration.

international news

BOSNIA:

West backs Bosnian Serb president of hate

UNITED STATES

Strikers beat back UPS bosses

STRIKERS at United Parcel Service have beaten back one of the most hard-nosed companies in the US.

The victory of the 185,000 strikers, who are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union, draws a line under two decades of devastating defeats inflicted on the US labour movement.

It could mark a turning point for US workers who have suffered over 20 years of falling wages and worsening conditions.

UPS bosses have been forced to climb down from their previous tough stance.

The UPS workers' pension fund will remain in union hands. Bosses wanted to run the fund and use it to double company profits.

The company has been forced to pledge 10,000 full time jobs. It had said it would only take on an extra 1,000 full time workers.

Workers will get pay rises of up to \$4.10 an hour over the next five years.

UPS is one of the biggest companies in the US and made \$4 billion profit over the last four years. It could easily afford to meet the workers' demands.

UPS management had hoped to smash the union in the company.

Attack

The firm had been to the forefront of attempts by US bosses to drive down wages, attack conditions and replace secure full time jobs with part time workers.

But two weeks of an all out strike remained solid.

Bosses were flabbergasted as their actions backfired. The strike cost the firm more than half a billion dollars.

Opinion polls showed 55 percent of Americans supported the strike as millions of workers identified with the fight.

Today nearly a quarter of all American workers are in jobs which are temporary, part time or subcontracted. The strike won widespread support from other workers.



■ The tactics which knocked back the bosses

KENYA

Bloodshed as Moi hangs on

THE DEATH toll was rising at the beginning of this week as fighting spread across the coast of the east African country Kenya.

Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi blamed the killings by armed gangs 100 to 200 strong on opposition forces.

But there are strong signs that Moi's own ruling KANU party is behind the violence.

Security forces, which normally respond ruthlessly to opposition protests, were slow to react when the violence broke out two weeks ago.

Since then nine policemen have been killed.

Local police have reacted by arresting a leading member of Moi's KANU party.

Elections are scheduled for this year and KANU is trailing badly.

The *Economist* reports that the coastal violence may be "merely the ruling party's pre-election warm up".

Denounced

Moi has tried to appear as a figure who can stop the violence and has denounced "tribalism" as the cause of the killings.

But divisions between people in Kenya do not go back to the dawn of time.

The British sowed divi-

sion between different peoples in Kenya to head off a powerful strike wave and independence movement in the 1950s.

Moi and other politicians have played on those divisions since to preserve the rule of the rich.

The International Monetary Fund is set to make the tension and suffering worse by suspending credit to the Kenyan government.

That can only increase despair and provide fertile ground for Moi to play off different groups of people unless recent united protest by workers and the poor grows to pose an alternative.

WESTERN leaders were quietly trying to build support for Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic this week.

The moves came as Plavsic engaged in a bitter power struggle with former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic who NATO governments have indicted for war crimes during the Bosnian civil war.

Plavsic does not offer a break from the policies of ethnic hatred which fuelled four years of fighting.

Benefit

She has tried to benefit from the growing bitterness among ordinary Bosnian Serbs at the hardship caused by the war and the failure of the NATO imposed Dayton Accord.

Her supporters seized control of the Bosnian state television studios from supporters of Karadzic last weekend.

Plavsic told a 5,000 strong rally that she aimed to bol-

ster support in the army.

She added, "We got fed up with lies," referring to the years when Karadzic led the Bosnian Serbs.

But throughout those years she was Karadzic's loyal deputy.

Backing

She stood alongside him at the centre of the policy of ethnic cleansing.

As war broke out in 1992 she remarked on the cramped living conditions of Muslims in the city of Sarajevo, "It is the habit of Muslims to live in this way. They like to live on top of one another. It's their culture."

"Western leaders are giving tacit support to Plavsic because she says she accepts the Dayton plan to partition Bosnia."

They are continuing what they have done over the past seven years, backing those who they think will best represent their interests irrespective of whether the result is greater bloodshed.

TURKEY

11 POLICE ON MURDER CHARGE—AS REPRESSION CONTINUES

THE TRIAL of 11 police officers for the murder of a left wing journalist is casting some light on the degree of repression in Turkey.

Police arrested Metin Göktepe of the Evrensel newspaper in January 1986.

He was held in a sports stadium along with thousands of mourners for two left wing prisoners who had died on hunger strike.

Metin was later found dead from severe head injuries.

The trial has gained national prominence in Turkey because, unusually, prosecution lawyers managed to force some of the accused police officers to appear in court.

The Turkish parliament recently passed a partial amnesty freeing six newspaper editors from prison.

But more than 150 independent journalists and publishers remain behind bars and restrictive press laws remain in force.

Criticism

The government wants to quell international criticism of Turkey's human rights record.

But at the same time it wants to repress the insurgent Kurdish movement in the south and workers who have staged successful strikes and protests over the last few years.

FRUIT OF THE LOOM:

Jobs axe is simply 'on hold'

SHOP stewards in Fruit of the Loom have told the company's 3,500 workers in Derry and Donegal that their jobs are safe "in the short term".

But there is good reason to prepare a fight against any company moves to shift production out of Ireland.

Last year, the company discussed a secret plan to move 800 jobs from Derry and Buncrana to a low-wage country in Eastern Europe, North Africa or the Caribbean.

Repay

This plan is simply on hold. Fruit of the Loom only waited because it would have had to repay \$29 million to industrial development agencies north and south, on top of thousands of pounds for redundancy packages.

But after 2004, Fruit of the Loom will be able to move out without any penalties and it has no qualms about cutting down operations at home.



■ Fruit of the Loom workers in Buncrana

Its American plants have sacked one quarter of their entire workforce in the past two years.

The Kentucky operation shed 1,480 sewing and assembly jobs a few weeks ago.

Many of the American jobs

have gone to Mexico, the Caribbean and Morocco. None of these workers got the type of golden handshake given to the McArthur brothers.

Unfortunately, the SIPTU official for the area, George Hunter, is encouraging a false

sense of security by claiming that Fruit of the Loom is "totally committed" to its Irish operations.

Yet there are good reasons not to believe the company's assurances.

Fruit of the Loom asked its

workers in January 1993 to forsake a 3 percent pay rise under the national pay agreement.

It would give them an extra day's leave and create 2,000 new jobs, it said. Only 1,000 of these have appeared.

Since 1991 workers have been put on three-day weeks on three occasions, robbing them of a third of their pay.

Strike

The most recent one started in June 1996 when management sent a letter saying "I am unable to give guarantees as to when short-time working will come to an end."

It lasted over Christmas until January 1997.

SIPTU should give workers the whole story and tell Fruit of the Loom that it could face a major strike if it makes any attempt to close down the factories.

Workers at Molins factory in Derry occupied in the 1980s and held on to the machinery when management tried to pull out. Their jobs are still there today.

Gerry's \$500 a plate dinner with US bosses

GERRY ADAMS, Martin McGuinness and Caoimhghin O'Caoilain will hold a \$500-a-head fundraising dinner in New York's posh Plaza Hotel during their fundraising tour in early September.

Martin McGuinness justified the event by saying "It is clearly important that American voices in support of the equality agenda are also heard."

The US fundraising tour will see the Sinn Fein trio hobnobbing with wealthy Irish-American businessmen.

They want to be seen as a re-



■ O'Caoilain and Adams

spectable party with the ear of White House officials.

Adams and McGuinness think this will give them more clout at the Stormont talks on September 15th, even though Blair has

made it clear that the Union is not up for debate.

In the meantime, Sinn Fein is taking an uncritical stance towards US big business.

Refused

It is now calling for more US investment, even though computer components company Seagate has refused to recognise trade unions ever since it set up in Derry.

Sinn Fein also refused to join calls for an occupation of the UTA factory in Derry when 600 workers were laid off, because it did not want to rock the US boat.

This seems to be the price of looking to one imperialist power to get a deal done with another.

One law for Orangemen

The sectarianism of the RUC and the judicial system in the North were clearly seen in Derry courts during August.

Richard Dallas, the former Unionist Mayor had pleaded not guilty to blocking Craigavon Bridge and a number of other roads during the Drumcree stand-off of July 1996.

Despite the mayhem caused, he and his fellow Orangemen were charged with very minor offences like "obstructing the traffic" and "taking part in an illegal assembly".

Private

Dallas changed his plea to guilty in a virtually private court hearing held during an officially announced one-hour adjournment. He walked free, fined only £175 and bound to keep the peace for a year.

In stark contrast, a 12 year old boy from the Bogside was remanded in custody by the same magistrate, charged with riotous assembly on the night of July 13th this year, a night when there was only minor disturbances.

His solicitor objected to the charge, which implies he was involved in organising a riot, and which carries an automatic three year sentence.

The boy spent three days in a prison setting before his frantic parents succeeded in getting him released on bail.

Orange bigots demand 'civil rights'

YET another umbrella organisation for bigots has been formed in Northern Ireland.

The Uster Civil Rights Movement (UCRM), emerged in the last eight months to help force through Orange parades.

It has become a meeting point for thugs associated with the Loyalist Volunteer Force and Paisley's DUP.

The UCRM is not concerned with civil rights but is all about keeping Catholics in their place.

The two leading UCRM members are Kenny McClinton and Clifford Forbes. McClinton butchered two people while he was a UFF member.

Now styling himself as a pastor, McClinton mediated for rioting LVF prisoners in the Maze who had daubed "Yabba dabba doo—any Fenian will do" over graffiti of Fred Flintstone with a gun.

Another UCRM member, convicted extortionist Mark Fulton, leads a group called the "Rat Pack" after Mid-Ulster loyalist Billy Wright, known as King Rat.

The sickening makeup of the UCRM was evident at a recent meeting in Derry, organised by the brother of UFF man Geoffrey Deeney who was jailed for the 1993 Greysteel massacre. Deeney, fresh out of jail, has also joined the LVF.

Banner

Convicted murderer Billy McCaughey held a banner in front of the platform which said "Harryville Protesters on Tour".

Other men in paramilitary uniform carried UVF banners.

The link between murderers and politicians could not have been clearer. The DUP was represented by former Derry mayor Richard Dallas, east Belfast councillor Robert Clelland, and councillor and Apprentice Boy William Hay.

Hay said he knew that "Billy Wright's people" were at the rally. Dallas agreed that "thugs" were at the meeting and described the UCRM as a cross-party, single issue group with one aim: "We've had enough, it's time to claw back our share of what's going."

UCRM leader Pauline Gilmore said she was not concerned about LVF members in the movement. "Protestants are not our enemies," she said.

in brief

★ Northern Ireland Electricity, which made £60 million in profits last year, left a disabled woman sitting in the dark despite her pleas for help. Alice Caldwell (37) suffers from spinal arthritis and a brain tumour. When her electricity went off she rang NIE who refused to come out. "I can't even

get myself a cup of tea. Their customer care is null and void. I thought it was abominable," she said.

★ The Independent Loyal Orange Institution in Ballymoney is trying hard to keep the town's leisure centre closed on Sundays, in line with a proud tradition that has kept playgrounds and parks padlocked

on the one day when workers can have a bit of fun together with their kids.

"The Sabbath Day was instituted by the command of Almighty God, it is not the plaything of mere man," said Grand Master George Dawson. "It is not surprising that those who oppose our Protestant heritage should seek to destroy this

'ancient landmark'."

★ A 90-year old woman had to wait eight days for a hip operation after being badly injured in a fall. Belfast City Hospital, a so-called NHS centre of excellence, simply couldn't find her a bed. Yet Blair's solution is not to put more beds into hospitals. He

wants to "move out" the "bedblockers" instead. "Bedblockers" are elderly people who don't recover from operations as quickly as young people. They will now be kicked out of hospital sooner under new government plans.

★ Northern Secretary Mo Mowlam boasted in

August that unemployment in the North was at its lowest level for 17 years—and conveniently forgot to mention that the Jobseekers Allowance shaved thousands off the statistics.

But as usual, nationalist areas are well above the 8 percent average. Strabane has a 14 percent unemploy-

ment figure, compared to Ballymena's 6 percent and employers are still flaunting fair employment laws.

Not surprising, maybe, because the Tories' Fair Employment minister Baroness Denton herself refused to sack an Orange bigot in her own office who had intimidated a Catholic worker.

How did India gain independence?

FIFTY YEARS after Indian independence the myth remains that it was the non-violent moral persuasion of Gandhi that got Britain to leave.

But mass struggles, riots, strikes and mutinies were what forced the British to quit. They did not go gracefully.

Following the First World War, for example, agitation against repressive British legislation culminated in huge struggles.

In 1919 the British responded by massacring protesters at Amritsar in the Punjab region which had witnessed remarkable Muslim-Hindu-Sikh unity.

This repression failed to halt a tide of risings between 1919 and 1921.

Strikes by tens of thousands of jute, rail, steel, textile and tea plantation workers also led to mass unionisation across industry.

It was on the back of this radicalisation that the Indian National Congress launched its own first India-wide campaign of non-cooperation with the British in 1921.

Congress was a moderate organisation based on Indian businessmen and the educated middle class. It won the support of many workers and peasants but tried to stop the movement seeking demands which might threaten private property.

The Second World War led to a new wave of radicalisation. In response the Congress launched a Quit India movement between 1942 and 1943. It sparked huge clashes with the police and army.

The British decision to flee was forced by a further rebellion between 1945 and 1946 that surpassed even the Quit India movement.

At the end of 1945 the British authorities decided to put on trial Indian National Army prisoners for fighting alongside the Japanese during the second world war. The INA had been formed in 1942 from Indian prisoners in Japanese camps.

The British put a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh together for the first trial.

Countrywide protests saw massive intercommunal unity. Then, in February 1946, Royal Indian Navy sailors in Bombay mutinied over racist abuse and poor food, demanding the release of all INA prisoners.

Mutiny

The leaders of the mutiny tied together the flags of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Communist Party to indicate their unity.

Thousands of people brought food for the rebels and the mutiny spread to naval bases all over the country to involve 20,000 sailors. Some 300,000 workers struck in support across Bombay.

The revolt terrified the leaders of the Congress as much as the British.

Congress leaders wanted a



mass movement to pressurise the British, but one which they could control. So both the leader of the Muslim League, Jinnah, and Congress leader Patel successfully persuaded the sailors to surrender.

Patel wrote, "Discipline in the army cannot be tampered with. We will want the army even in free India."

Gandhi was similarly hostile. He condemned the sailors for setting a "bad and unbecoming example for India" and said, "A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy."

Throughout this period the British had backed the Muslim League, a movement of pro-British Muslim landowners. At first the League had little influence among the mass of the India's Muslims.

But as it became clear that the leaders of the independence movement wanted to maintain the disparities of wealth in India, the Muslim League increased its influence.

Turning on radical rhetoric and demanding an independent Muslim Pakistan, the League encouraged communalism and religious strife.

When the British cabinet in decided in 1946 it would have to go, the Muslim League intensified its campaign of communalism. Violence flared as Hindus and Muslims clashed. In Calcutta 10,000 died in just one day of violence.

Rather than encourage the strike movement as an alternative to communal strife, Congress agreed to partition of India as Britain left in 1947.

The nationalist leaders of the what became the independent states of India and Pakistan feared the power of a united mass movement of workers and peasants.

They were more willing to accept communal slaughter than risk the possibility of social revolution.

Far from Indian independence being won by Gandhi's pacifism, it was born in a terrible bloodshed that could have been avoided if Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were united in the struggles that Gandhi feared.

BY KEVIN WINGFIELD

REFUGEES A

It's time to fight racism!

THE Independent group of newspapers has embarked on a major campaign against refugees.

The *Evening Herald* has led with headlines such as *Refugees costing £20,000 a day* while the *Sunday Independent* has claimed that *Immigrants spark housing crisis*.

The Independent Group, which is owned by the millionaire press baron Tony O'Reilly is trying to get working class people to turn their anger on immigrants and not the bosses.

The hysteria against refugees is also being whipped up by Fianna Fail Justice Minister, John O'Donoghue.

O'Donoghue advocated a zero-tolerance policy during the last election but has turned a blind eye to the allegations of bribery that surround members of his own cabinet.

In order to cover for his failures, the Department of Justice is issuing regular press releases about the number of 'illegal immigrants' they are turning away from Ireland.

O'Donoghue claimed that 400 were 'caught' in August and turned away.

But these figures are the result of a dramatic change in immigration policy. Ever since the state was founded there has been no passport controls between Ireland and Britain.

Free movement of people was allowed because of the high numbers of Irish emigrating back and forth to Britain.

O'Donoghue now insists that passports can now be required for entry from Britain and Northern Ireland.

In reality this provision is being used by the Gardaí to single out black people for interrogation.

A Derry woman told *Socialist Worker*, "It was shocking to see how the Gardaí came on the Belfast bus going to Dublin and singled out two black men."

"They were taken off the bus near Dundalk because they had no passports."

"But neither did the rest of us. When I tried to protest I was bundled back on the bus."

This official racism has given the green light to thugs and bigots.

Abuse

Several refugee families have been forced to leave their houses after racist abuse and attacks.

Deirdre, from the Stoneybatter

area of Dublin explains how the racist are whipping up an atmosphere of hate.

"Many refugees collect their rent allowance and social welfare cheques in Charles St."

"All the time there is remarks being made against them—saying that they are the cause of the long queues."

"But there were queues long before the refugees arrived."

"A few of my black friends

have had 'Heil Hitler' shouted in their face."

"Something needs to be done before this begins to get out of hand"

"I am glad that the Anti Nazi League is organising the *Race against Racism Carnival* in Dublin."

"It's a brilliant idea to bring people together."

"It could not have come at a better time."

Anti Nazi League

RAGE AGAINST RACISM

CARNIVAL SEPT 13TH

ADMISSION FREE

Revelino; Nick Kelly; Mark Dignam; Glen Hansard; Fallen Angels; Dr Millar; Sadre Assemble 2.30pm Garden of Remembrance, Dublin—March to Carnival at Civic Offices Park, Wood Quay

Also: COMEDY BENEFIT with MARK STEEL and JEREMY HARDY Sunday Sept 7th, 8pm Whelans. Admission £6 (£5 conc)

RE WELCOME HERE

VOICES AGAINST RACISM

MARK DIGNAM is one of the musicians playing at the Anti Nazi League Rage Against Racism carnival. Mark told the ANL his feelings on racism:

"Regardless of distance or differences, we are all the same kind of thinking, feeling, wishing bag of blood and bones, in search of a life worth living, and often struggling to achieve that in any way we can."

"There is a danger of us not being able to realise the human wealth a diverse and multi-cultural society would bring to our little Island."

"What is needed is for us to utilise the talents of each member of our changing society."

BREN BARRY is a member of the band **REVELINO**—also playing at the ANL carnival. Bren had this to say:



■ Mark Dignam



Anti Nazi League on the march a couple of years ago

STANDING UP TO HARASSMENT

ALTHOUGH born in Ireland, Jake is black. He has noticed an increase in racism since the election.

Two months ago he was at a bus stop with another black man when a white youth began abusing them.

"After a while he tried to kick my friend but I stopped him."

He followed us onto the bus and continued to abuse us.

"He was saying things like 'You should be sent home' and 'You're robbing the country'. But other people on the bus supported us saying 'There's no need for that'."

"He then belted my companion on the back of the head. He defended himself and other passengers came to our help."

The driver pulled the bus in to the side of the road and put the racist off. The good thing was others came to our defence."

"While physical attacks don't happen every day, abuse is not unusual."

Jake said the campaign in the media has stirred things up. "It's got worse in the last while. There was a particularly bad case during the election campaign."

"The radio news covered a walkabout by politicians in Temple Bar. Two homeless couples claimed they had been made homeless to make way for hundreds of black families. That claim went out unchallenged across the country."

Jake blames politicians for jumping on the bandwagon. They raised refugees seeking asylum to make it an issue—to get elected. Some of the Fianna Fail people were particularly bad.

"And the press and some of

the journalists with their sensationalism. Derek Davis featured the claim that Asian families were cruelly killing sheep in their back garden. It was an ignorant reference to Halal slaughter."

Impression

Jake points out that the story was taken up by the papers and the impression left that Asians spend their spare time slitting the throats of sheep.

He wants to see the Anti Nazi League carnival be a big success.

"I think the Carnival is a good idea. It's a great way of breaking down barriers. I put up posters in my workplace."

Ismail is a Somalian refugee.

He fled devastation and is seeking refuge in Ireland where his case is now being considered.

"I've noticed more abuse the last few months."

"Most people you meet are fine but some are stupid. They blame us for everything that is wrong in Ireland."

"The newspapers tell them we're living in luxury—it's not true. I didn't leave my country because I wanted to sponge in Ireland."

"I am not allowed to work. I can't even have a driving licence. I didn't take anything from anyone in Ireland."

I just want to work and make my life here."

Soccer Against Racism kick off

AROUND 250 people attended a seven-a-side soccer tournament on the 17th of August organised by a new group set up to combat racism in Ireland.

SARI or Soccer Against Racism in Ireland says it hopes to fight racism through sport.

Refugees from many different countries formed teams for the event. Irish groups such as Amnesty International and *Hot Press* magazine also sent teams.

The streets around Blackhall Place where the tournament was held, were covered with racist posters.

But anti-racists quickly tore them down.

The immigrants who spoke to members of the Anti-Nazi League all said they were delighted that such an event had been organised.

All of them said they had directly experienced racism on the streets of Dublin; the most common attack was people shouting racist abuse from passing cars.

Most complained that the police did absolutely nothing when such attacks came to their attention.

In some cases they actually accused the refugees of "causing trouble".

What you can do

★ **Join the Anti-Nazi League Cost of membership: £2. Contact ANL, PO Box 4007, Dublin 1**

★ **Order posters and leaflets for the carnival invite an Anti-Nazi League speaker to your school or workplace to explain the reasons for this carnival.**

★ **Show you're against racism and fascism. Wear a badge or sticker and get your friends or workmates to wear one too.**

★ **Petitions: Take some petitions against racism and get people you know to sign them.**

Bring them round your estate, school/college or workplace.

You could set a stall and get other people to help out.

★ **Leafleting: Order a pile of leaflets for Rage Against Racism and distribute them wherever you can.**

Take some posters and put them in local shops, community centres and workplaces.

★ **Graffiti: If there is racist graffiti in your area, organise a group of people to paint it out.**

★ **Meetings: Invite an Anti Nazi League speaker to your school/college or workplace to explain the reason for the Carnival.**

"I think it's very important to build an anti-racist culture in Ireland."

"Ireland has been very quick to export people out of the country—why shouldn't it be reciprocated?"

■ **NICK KELLY** will be appearing at the carnival too and he told the Anti Nazi League:

"Racism is never justifiable."

"The fact that Irish people with their unique historical experience of both the ugliness of rejection and the warmth of acceptance means that we have no excuse but a particularly big opportunity to speak out and stand up to intolerance and bigotry"

Out now!

Refugees are welcome here—The case against immigration controls. This pamphlet answers the racist myths and gives all the arguments to beat racism £2.00 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



As the Chinese Communist Party has its 15th congress Emma Murphy asks ...

Was Mao a socialist?

Following the death in May of China's premiere Deng Xiaoping Western commentators have wondered what path the country is going to take now. Will "socialist" China continue to open itself up to the market?

But China is not a socialist state now, and it never has been. As one writer on China put it: "Marxism has acquired a very bad name in China, which is quite understandable, though somewhat unfair: after all, it was never really tried."

The myth of socialist China finds its origins in the revolution of 1949 and in the figure of Chairman Mao. In the sixties and seventies many left-wingers who were disillusioned with Russia under Stalin, looked to Mao's China.

Millions of copies of Mao's *Little Red Book*—filled with thoughts of the chairman—were sold world-wide and his pronouncements assumed the status of a political philosophy.

But even the revolution that led to the founding of the People's Republic of China was not a workers' revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party was set up in 1921 as a tiny organisation of 57 members but it soon found a ready audience.

Rapid industrialisation after the First World War led to the growth of an urban working class and the success of the Russian revolution inspired workers to organise.

The post-war years also saw the growth of a nationalist movement in China. The Guomindang, was backed by China's industrialists and led by Chiang Kaishek. The Communist Party supported that aim of national liberation and in 1922 it entered the Guomindang.

The original idea was to work inside the broad anti-colonial movement and to put forward independent socialist policies. As Lenin had argued before this:

"A resolute struggle must be waged against the attempt to clothe the revolutionary liberation movements in the backward countries, which are not communist, in communist clothes... The Communist International... must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement."

Unfortunately what Lenin warned against was about to happen. In Russia, the failure of the European revolutions led to the disintegration of workers' power and the growth of the power of the state bureaucracy under Stalin.

The Comintern, formed to spread workers' revolution, became instead an arm of Russian foreign policy. China was its first casualty.

In 1923 the Chinese Communists were ordered to accept the Guomindang leadership uncritically and the Guomindang was admitted into the Comintern as an associate party.

Mao Zedong, who had just been



elected to the Communist Party's central committee endorsed this line wholeheartedly.

"The present political problem in China is none other than the problem of the national revolution... The merchants, workers, peasants, students and teachers should all come forward to take on the responsibility."

The Communists may have welcomed Chiang Kaishek with open arms but he didn't return the favour.

In 1926 he launched the Northern Expedition—a military campaign aimed at conquering part of China.

Peasants and workers soon joined in to create a nation-wide revolutionary movement.

But at every step Chiang suppressed workers' uprisings.

When he entered Shanghai he immediately joined forces with local warlords.

Together they brutally put down workers who had organised a general strike in support of national liberation.

In the year he spent consolidating his power an estimated 230,000 people lost their lives and the Communist Party was almost completely destroyed.

Forced by defeat to retreat from the cities, Mao led a raggle taggle force of 10,000 on the famous Long March. Hounded by their former allies, the Guomindang, Mao's Red Army was forced deeper and deeper into the country.

As it was uprooted from the cities, the Communist Party began to change.

The stress was no longer on workers' power and class struggle, but on military might.

"Every Communist must grasp the truth," Mao said, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun....

having guns, we can create Party organisations."

The Red Army's recovery from the Long March was astounding.

After a few years the CCP built up a huge guerrilla army made up of peasants disillusioned with the Guomindang's inability to deal with Japanese advances.

But by 1930 the proportion of workers in the party had dropped to 1.6%.

Ignoring the economic realities, Mao set fantastic targets and party cadres were instructed to exhort the masses to meet the targets. What followed was pure fantasy.

By 1949 Mao's armies had defeated the disorganised and corrupt Guomindang. But this nationalist revolution had nothing to do with Marx's idea of socialism.

Marx argued that socialism could only be based on the working class making the revolution that would free all the oppressed.

Nor could it be called a peasant's revolution: after years of guerrilla war, the peasants who joined the People's Liberation Army had lost contact with their roots and no longer expressed peasant interests.

As has been the case with most national liberation struggles, they were led, primarily, by intellectuals from the cities.

In power the Communist Party began to nationalise private enterprises and absorb into its ranks their former owners and directors.

Just like Russia under Stalin, in Mao's China the state bureaucracy became the new boss class.

It continued to exploit workers in an attempt to develop heavy industry and make the country's economy competitive.

The results were often disastrous. Mao tried to imitate Stalin by launch-



Mao was seen by many as a socialist yet the regime he founded massacred thousands in Tianmen Square in 1989

ing a series of five year plans. But China's industrial base was a fraction of what Russia's had been in 1928.

After the failure of the first five year plan, Mao launched a second frenetic economic drive which became known as "The Great Leap Forward". The whole basis of this plan was to jumpstart the economy through a massive effort to mobilise the human resources.

Ignoring the economic realities, Mao set fantastic targets and party cadres were instructed to exhort the masses to meet the targets. What followed was pure fantasy.

Party cadres simply reported that the impossible targets were being met and the fever spread. Soon Zhou Enlai, Mao's right hand man announced that the targets for the second five year plan had been reached in the plan's first year!

But fiction aside, the reality of the Great Leap Forward was huge suffering for workers and peasants. The economy was plunged into chaos and a series of natural disasters combined to cause widespread famine which killed between 30 and 50 million people.

But while millions starved Mao's personal doctor gives this description of his birthday party in 1959:

"The finest, most expensive delicacies Chinese cuisine can offer [were served]. And as so many of my countrymen starved, I sat... celebrating the 66th birthday of the absent emperor Mao."

Despite the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao was elevated to the status of a God, with pictures and statues of him everywhere, and poems and songs written comparing him to the rising sun.

More disasters, orchestrated by Mao, ensued.

He launched the Cultural Revolution to try to eliminate his rivals within the bureaucracy.

But it very nearly became a real revolution as ordinary people began to take seriously the anti-capitalist slogans and the calls for equality raised by the Red

Guards.

Mao beat a hasty retreat, admitted he'd been wrong and reasserted the primacy of the party in everything. It was at this stage that Mao brought Deng back.

A party member since 1926 he'd been out in the cold for some time. But now—a tried and tested organisation man—he was needed to restore the authority and prestige of the party.

By 1970 the economy began to grow again, under the slogan "grasp revolution and promote production."

Mao made diplomatic approaches to the US and invited Richard Nixon to visit China.

In the country private plots for peasants were no longer denounced but praised.

The elements that were later known as Deng Xiaoping's "reforms" began.

Mao died in 1976 and after a power struggle, Deng took over. He continued with the economic programme set in train a decade earlier, calling for "less empty talk and more hard work" and assuring the US that the "honeymoon would last for a long time."

The Chinese people have never lived in a socialist society. The system put in place by Mao was dictatorship and state capitalism.

That state capitalism has gradually been giving way to private capitalism and this trend looks set to continue.

China now is a country of huge inequality.

Recent economic changes have made millionaires of some, while an estimated 100 million people roam the country in search of work.

But there are encouraging signs of dissent.

Last month the country witnessed its biggest workers' protests since Tiananmen Square when tens of thousands of workers in the town of Mianyang threw up barricades and clashed with the army.

Their fury erupted when bosses announced that three textile factories were to close.

This is where the real hope of the struggle for socialism in China lies.

Anyone for President?

THE DATE for the presidential election has been set for the end of October and several potential candidates have thrown their hats into the ring.

Albert Reynolds is tripping over himself to look like a statesman and pay the money for his libel trial bills. No way is Albert going to stand aside to let John Hume have a clear run.

This should come as no surprise really. The presidency seems to be viewed by most politicians as some kind of a prize. It's a nice little retirement package after years of 'service' to the state.

And this is basically true.

The presidency means very little. It's no more than a symbolic figurehead.

However, that's not to say that the election of a president can't be significant.

Certainly the election of Mary Robinson in 1990 was important.

Mary Robinson emerged at a period of significant social change in Ireland.

In many ways she represented the desire of many people to

dates mentioned for the presidency represent anything of the same importance.

Dana is the hope of Catholic fundamentalism. Her main support lies among the ranks of the likes of Family Solidarity.

Dana's supporters believe her victory would represent a major step towards rolling back the 'liberal agenda'.

But their choice of candidate is also a reflection of how weak they are.

Picking a sickly sweet Eurovision winner from 1971 just about sums up the nostalgia they share for the safety of 'old Ireland'.

The distance between Dana and Albert is by no means huge.

His government slapped the injunction on the fourteen year old rape victim.

It collapsed in the face of the scandal over the cover-up of the Brendan Smyth affair.

Passports

Reynolds was the Taoiseach who was implicated in the passport for sale affair; where passports were issued in return for investment in his family firm.

That same company, C&D pet foods had to be taken to court to get equal pay for women workers there.

Of course, even though he's made it clear that the Irish people deserve nothing less than a President Albert Reynolds, it's not a foregone conclusion that he'd even get the Fianna Fail nomination.

Hopefully the divisions in Fianna Fail will re-emerge as Michael Kennedy and Maire Geoghegan Quinn also vie for the post.

But despite the cynicism the race for the Presidency could still become a significant issue.

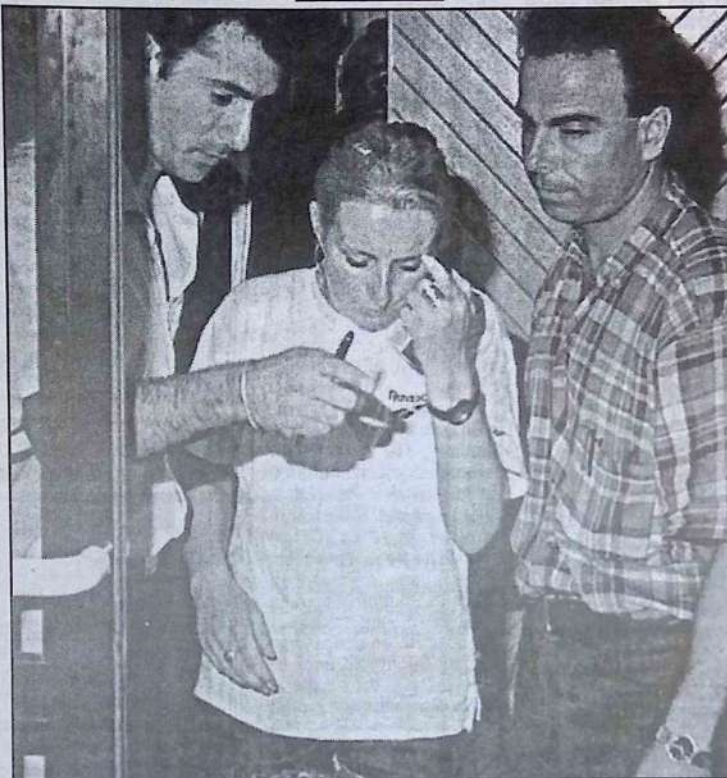
While socialists reject the idea that's usually put forward about the importance of this figurehead as a leader and a representative of the nation, Mary Robinson did show that who wins the election can be important.

If a clear left-wing candidate was to emerge, a vote for them would be important, because any victory for the left would increase the confidence to fight and to change things.

—ROISIN CRONIN

Booze, fags and a rotten message

media



BRIDGET JONES'S *Diary* is Britain's best selling paperback. Everywhere you look someone is reading it.

Touted as "Fever Pitch for girls"—not necessarily a good thing—it compiles Helen Fielding's columns in the *Independent* about the trials and tribulations of a middle class thirty something.

It is easy to see why the book is popular. Bridget is an independent single woman with her own job, flat and problems. Each diary entry starts with a rundown of her weight, alcohol and cigarette intake, and how many 1471 calls she's made to see if any men have rung.

It is full of observations about the sorts of trivia and insecurities that most women do worry about at one time or another—cellulite, stressful parents, sexist men, pressure from married friends to get a boyfriend and start having kids.

It is also funny in places—though not at all as funny as it is hyped to be.

But despite its popularity *Bridget Jones's Diary* is a deeply insidious book.

There is nothing but trivia in Bridget's life. Insecurities are cause for celebration, rather than features of oppression which make many women deeply unhappy.

by MEGAN TRUDELL

rich boyfriend (as you do).

Bridget Jones's Diary is just the best known of a slew of books with similar themes. While the heroine's aims are to be more assertive, more together, more independent—all of these are because she is therefore more attractive to



men.

It is a trend that is indeed *Fever Pitch* or *Loaded* for girls. New Laddism simply conceals old sexism, and so does this sort of post-feminism meets Mills & Boon.

Is this really the most that women can aspire to taking no interest in the world, celebrating ignorance, self-indulgence and waiting for the perfect man?

The book is popular because it tells women that their insecurities and fears are common and acceptable but with its fairy tale ending it simply preys on those feelings.

Apart from being a pernicious book that reaffirms backward ideas about women (and men), it is boring. Never mind getting a man, Bridget, how about getting a life?

Sassy

Even the trivia is middle class trivia—how relevant to most women's lives is Bridget's guilt trip in the supermarket where, instead of being a "functional adult" buying food to feed children, she fills her basket with goose fat, Grand Marnier and vanilla pods?

On the surface this is the story of a smart, sassy, independent woman, but the real message is an old one—women, no matter how successful, cannot be fulfilled without a man.

Bridget's time appears to be mainly taken up with how to get, then keep, a

pression that women face, and their treatment as objects.

It has shown that there remains a horribly anti-woman attitude which says women invent stories of rape and that rape accusations should accordingly be treated with suspicion.

The demonising of Annette Mangan

OVER THE last few weeks Annette Mangan has been demonised by the media.

Having made a false allegation of rape against three Irish soldiers in Cyprus, she is now serving a four-month sentence in Cypriot jail.

Most commentators have been quite clear in putting forward the view that it's no more than she deserves.

What's been forgotten in all of this, however, is the fact that her allegations came after two of the soldiers had photographed her naked in bed with one of their friends.

Some have even implied that this is just what a crowd of drunken lads get up to, and sure what's the harm in that.

If 'our boys' can't let their hair down every now and then what's the world coming to.

Nobody should belittle the enormity of the humiliation that Annette Mangan has suffered.

It's not something that should be ignored.

While the press has splashed Annette Mangan's face all over the newspapers, they've also used the case as a backlash against all rape cases.

The implication is that if one woman lies about rape then what's to say most other women don't lie too.

Sam Smyth, writing in *The Sunday Tribune*, managed to link the case to Lavinia Kerwick's case.

He blamed feminists for exploiting rape cases and for demonising men who rape.

More than anything else the Mangan case reflects the general op-

Reviewed by KEVIN WINGFIELD

"I didn't have a lavish lifestyle... There was no room for any sort of extravagant lifestyle".

This is how Charles J Haughey described himself to the McCracken Tribunal. It was typical of the lies that he spun all his life.

The son of an army officer who died early of TB, Haughey grew up in relatively poor circumstances.

But he built a political career in Fianna Fail that spanned four decades and he amassed huge wealth.

Fallen Idol: Haughey's Controversial Career, by T Ryle Dwyer, throws no new light on the career of the former Fianna Fail leader.

It is a rehash of a previously published book with a chapter tagged on which summarises the evidence to the McCracken Tribunal.

The book details the rows, splits, pushes, shoves, stroke pulling and arm twisting that took Haughey to the top of Fianna Fail and kept him there.

But it doesn't get beneath the surface and explain how a second rate gangster could remain the most successful politician in Ireland since De Valera.

In the sixties, Haughey—having married the daughter of Sean Lemass—was the leader of the new breed of business oriented Fianna Failers, the 'men in mohair suits'.

They wine and dined bosses in the construction industry and formed Taca, FF's business supporters club.

As he rose in the party, Haughey's undoubted skill as a "Mr Fixit" made him an ideal go-between between business and the state.

It's hardly surprising that in doing favours for the "big

fellas" there should have been a little something in it for himself.

And of course it's not just Haughey.

The type of mutual backscratching that he engaged in is increasingly favoured by all governments.

In recent years the Irish state has taken to backing a few favoured firms to compete within Europe; under the "pick a winner" strategy.

Promoted

In the beef sector it was Larry Goodman that was going to be promoted on the world market.

Successive governments favoured Goodman and turned a blind eye to the fiddles his companies were engaged in.

T Ryle Dwyer's book looks into some of these questions.

But it treats Haughey as an individual phenomenon

and this makes it unsatisfying.

So why didn't the press expose Haughey? Here is a clue.

In 1982 following leaks in the press, Haughey's government put phone taps on two journalists.

This became a scandal later but T Ryle Dwyer tells the following story which is less well known.

"Charlie [Haughey] complained to Hugh McLoughlin, the publisher of *The Sunday Tribune*, about [Geraldine] Kennedy's articles.

McLoughlin in turn told Conor Brady, the newspaper's editor, to keep a tighter control of Kennedy and to go easy on Charlie".

With such a compliant press is it any wonder Haughey got away with it for so long?

■ *Fallen Idol, Haughey's Controversial Career*, by T Ryle Dwyer, Mercier Press, £7.99

book

Haughey's crooked career



■ Mary Robinson

move away from the old De Valera image of holy Catholic Ireland.

Her election was immensely symbolic—she was a liberal who was openly pro-women's rights, pro-traveler, pro-gay rights.

Confidence

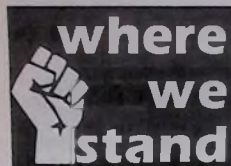
Her election marked a growing confidence among those who wanted to see things move on.

This was typified just two years later in the X case marches when thousands turned out to support a woman's right to choose.

But Mary Robinson was not the cause of this radicalisation, as some people would have us believe, but a reflection of it.

That is why her victory in 1990 was so significant.

None of the candi-



Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

FOR REVOLUTION. NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion. To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

Urban Cowboys need facilities not licenses

THIS YEAR, Charles J Haughey opened Malahide Horse Show in his sumptuous mansion in Kinsealy. He paraded around like an aristocrat among the horsey set who live a life of privilege.

It is a different story for the hundreds of working class teenagers who own horses in areas like Ballymun.

Dublin Corporation have announced that they are implementing the new Control of Horses Act this month and this will make it impossible for children to keep horses.

Owning and riding horses is one of the few outlets for kids in Ballymun. And they have become justifiably famous for it.

The teenagers and their horses have featured in films like *Into the West* and a Channel Four documentary, *Urban Cowboys*. Some months ago a photographer from *Vogue* magazine staged a public exhibition on the subject called 'Pony Kids'.

But now this may all end because of a petty vindictive piece of legislation.

Under the new act horses must be kept in stables, their owners must be at least 16 years old, and must pay £25 for a licence.

Failure

Failure to meet the requirements of the act will first lead to the horse being impounded, and ultimately being put down. The corporation is planning to start rounding up unlicensed horses immediately.

One anonymous official summed up the attitude of prejudice that pervades Dublin Corporation when he said, "Next week, the pet of the month could be elephants or crocodiles. Do we have to provide facilities for them?"

Vicky McElligott, who set up the Ballymun Horse Owner's Association, is not impressed by this ridiculous suggestion.

She sees the new act in class terms. "We simply can't comply with the regulations. Working class areas don't have equestrian centres".

Ballymun has roughly 200 horses owned by local children. Vicky is clear on what this issue means for working class areas,

Owned

"What this is saying is that we're second class citizens, that we shouldn't be allowed have horses. We don't go to riding schools, we couldn't afford it. We've had demonstrations through town, we've lobbied, but the act is still going ahead."

The Department of Agriculture has allocated two million pounds for this scheme. But the money will only be used to insert microchips into the animals so that they can be monitored,

and pounds for holding captured horses.

Supporters of the new act argue that it will stop horses from being neglected, and that roaming horses are a danger to people and a nuisance.

But if the authorities wanted to take away the danger of roaming horses, they could provide the facilities for kids to take care for their horses.

They could give large grants to groups like the Ballymun Horse Owners Association to build stables and establish full veterinary care.

After all, the rich get large handouts for their leisure pursuits. The K Club, for example, got a £600,000 grant.

One of the other main aims behind the act is to abolish the horse market that takes places regularly in Dublin's Smithfield market.

Huge amounts of money are about to be poured into turning Smithfield into the Temple Bar of the Northside of Dublin, with expensive



Owning and riding horses is one of the few outlets for many working class kids

restaurants and 'high culture'.

The idea of working class kids buying horses in the middle of a yuppies' paradise isn't what Dublin Corporation wants.

As Vicky says "Everyone has their own ideas about

what will happen there, but working class people won't have any say, that's for sure".

The Ballymun group have organised their first horse show for September 31st.

If Dublin Corporation decide to enforce the law, prob-

ably every horse there will be impounded.

But many will be supporting the event as an act of defiance against a vindictive government that has little interest in supporting working class leisure activities.

letters to the editor

Agree? Disagree? You can send your letters to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.



The price of Michelle's success

MICHELLE de Bruin has continued where she left off in the Olympics by winning medals at the European championships.

The sports minister Jim McDaid initially announced there would be no official welcome home for her, prompting a storm of protests.

This was largely because people at the top in this society want the rest of



Michelle de Bruin

us to turn our minds away from what really matters in our lives and celebrate the achievements of our

sportsmen and women.

Suspicion persists that De Bruin took drugs, whether or not she did her

exploits do depend on artificial means of attaining fitness, reducing her body to the level of a machine.

There is actually not a huge difference between the taking of drugs and the physical abuse inflicted on the body by other means.

If Michelle de Bruin pays a heavy price for this abuse in 20 years time or so, all her medals will be precious little consolation to her.

PADDY MOEN, DUBLIN

Kitt's crocodile tears at water charges

THE government's double standards on the water charges are continuing. Before the election a member of the Balinteer Anti Water Charges group wrote

to Tom Kitt, Fianna Fail TD to complain about the threat by the local council to publish non-payers names in *Stubbs Gazette* of debt defaulters, looking for his support.

Kitt replied in a letter expressing his anger against "the threatening tone" of the council's letter and "strongly supported" the protests.

Now with Fianna Fail he is part of the new government he has gone to ground. Surprise, surprise...

News from the SWP:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY members have been working hard to combat the rise of racism. A local meeting in Rialto attracted 45 people where it heard a speaker from the newly formed Irish refugee organisation.

Copies of the new pamphlet, *Refugees are welcome here*, are being widely distributed and are getting a good response.

The central priority of the party is now to build for the Anti-Nazi League carnival on September 13th.

The carnival provides an important focus to help roll back the tide of racism.

Over the next two weeks branches should:

■ visit local youth clubs, community groups and workplaces to advertise the

carnival.

■ hold regular stall in areas to publicise the event.

In Dun Laoghaire, the local SWP branch organised a meeting on Travellers' rights after the local council tried to move against Travellers who parked in Cabinteely.

In Belfast, SWP has been active in highlighting opposition to the introduction of university fees.

Pickets have now been organised on Library Board premises in Derry and Belfast.

Meanwhile recruitment to the party is rising.

Three people joined the Dun Laoghaire branch; one each joined Dublin North West, Drimnagh and Tallaght.

SWP branch

BELFAST
Meets every Thurs contact 8722682 for details

CORK
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.

DERRY
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institute.

ENNISKILLEN
Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details

GALWAY
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

MAYNOOTH
Meets every Wednesday Arts Block Maynooth college

WATERFORD
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

There are Socialist
COLERAINE: LURGAN: CAVAN
DUNDALK: ATHL
If you would like to get in touch
at (01) 872 2682, PC

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

If you want to join the Socialist Workers Party, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name

Address

Phone

news & reports— politics; the unions

send in your reports: telephone (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

RVH

ABOUT FIVE hundred domestic staff are balloting for industrial action in the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast.

This comes as almost three quarters of domestic supervisors have entered their second week of a work to rule and overtime ban.

The ballot among UNISON members is taking place because of a management attempt at "re-structuring".

This would cut £1.5 million from the support service budget of the hospital.

The remaining supervisors in the TGWU are also to ballot for industrial action.

A domestic worker told *Socialist Worker*:

"Workers have had enough of this undermining by senior management, and it was only a matter of time before the workers took action."

Management have agreed to talks but the date set was September 18th.

According to UNISON this month long delay is an indication of management's lack of urgency on the issue.

As one worker put it, "Management have no interest in the workers. Their only interest is in making money."

Meetings with porters, security guards and others are now being organised to gain their support for more industrial action.

SIPTU Vice presidential election

CANDIDATES standing for the Vice President of SIPTU are talking a language that has not been heard in the union for years.

In a bid to stop the rank and file candidate, Carolann Duggan, winning her rivals have tacked left.

The favourite candidate of the union establishment Des Geraghty now claims that he wants "to bring SIPTU back to the members".

He also says that he wants a £5 an hour minimum wage and the Industrial Relations Act "reviewed".

But all indications are that the rhetoric is hollow. All the

candidates who are full time officials—Geraghty, Greene and Hunter—refuse to talk about action to achieve the £5 an hour minimum.

Only Carolann Duggan has argued that SIPTU should guarantee previously unorganised workers the full backing of the union if they join up and take industrial action for £5 an hour.

Proposed

The rest of the candidates are advocates of the disastrous Partnership 2000 agreement.

Geraghty has even proposed that shop stewards and managers be trained together as a way of strengthening the partnership approach.

ship approach.

Nor have any of the full time officials been willing to challenge the undemocratic practices that have gone on in the union.

The most recent example was a decision to prevent the annual conference of SIPTU discussing a resolution to pull out of Partnership 2000 because of its failure to grant automatic union recognition.

While Carolann Duggan is campaigning on limited resources, Des Geraghty has been able to mailshot individual letters to the homes of shop stewards.

When questioned about this, he claimed that the addresses came from his personal database.

The bureaucracy which dominate the union from Liberty Hall has attempted to spread a rumour that Carolann Duggan is trying to organise a split away to another union.

This is despite the fact that she has publicly stated that switching unions does not benefit workers and that it is always better to fight for change inside SIPTU.

Carolann Duggan is a revolutionary socialist, a member of the Socialist Workers Party. She has never hidden her politics and has urged trade unionists to become political.

Her rivals are equally committed to their own political outlook — but have chosen to play down their affiliations.

Des Geraghty, for example, is a former MEP for Democratic Left while George Hunter is a member of the Labour Party.

The contest in Ireland's largest union is really about two very different visions of trade unionism — one from a revolutionary socialist and the other from the old left in Labour and Democratic Left.

Three Lakes Hotel

Strike needs support

THE STRIKE at the Three Lakes Hotel in Killarney is approaching its sixth month and morale on the picket line is still high.

The strike began when the hotel was taken over by Donnie Ring and the Donaghue family as a going concern. Workers expected that their wages and conditions would be maintained by the new owners.

But it was not to be. The new company, which has already an interest in the Towers Hotel and the Munster Joinery, was determined to attack existing agreements.

Soon after the takeover they tried to make one worker redundant and demote another in a way that would have effectively cut that worker's wages by 40 percent.

They also abolished staff meals and de-recognised the union.

Thirteen workers have mounted a picket on the hotel for the past number of months. The company claims it has cost them over £4 million but the workers are undeterred.

At first Three Lakes tried to bring in six scabs to take their place. But many local people and tourists refused to

go into the hotel. Pickets have also stopped goods arriving.

The new management expected that the strike would collapse after a few weeks. But as one picket said, "We got nowhere with this management. We are here for as long as it takes."

Strikers stepped up the action by picketing the Towers Hotel which was taking business from the Three Lakes. However, they were brought before the High Court and stopped doing this.

The company, however, was forced to give a written undertaking not to take business from the Three Lakes.

Solidarity with the strike around Killarney has been high. A march in support of the strikers was organised and now the local Trades Council is holding a benefit for the strikers in August.

Meanwhile the family which have taken over Three Lakes are opening a new hotel in Dublin. It is the Viking Lodge Hotel in Francis St. The Kerry TD, Jackie Healy Ray who is an admirer of Charles J Haughey has even been signed up to open it.

It is vital that trade unionists in Dublin show solidarity with the Three Lakes strikers by organising pickets and demonstrations outside.

Otis Lifts

Management take a fall

OTIS LIFTS showed the reality behind the talk of partnership when they took their employees to the High Court for refusing to work overtime.

In an action that was reminiscent of Victorian England in the nineteenth century, Otis sued 11 workers for conspiracy, defamation and damages.

The legal attack arose from a meeting held by lift engineers in Barry's Hotel in June where they decided to press for a decent wage rise to bring their pay to £11 an hour.

They agreed to ban overtime working as a way of pressurising the company to concede to their demands.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the workers justified their claim for a pay rise by stating, "The Celtic Tiger is alive and well and thriving in the lift industry."

"All we are asking for is a share in the success that we have contributed so much to. Is that too much to ask?"

For Otis it was too much. Notices appeared threatening disciplinary action and several workers were issued with a formal

notice.

Management wrote to the leaders of the TEEU demanding that they give an instruction to their members to call off the overtime ban. Unfortunately, the union officials complied.

When this intimidation failed, Otis went to the High Court to demand that the eleven workers pay them substantial damages.

And all of this because they refused to work overtime which is supposed to be voluntary!

The case was so outrageous that even the High Court threw it out. Workers are now continuing their unofficial overtime ban.

Aer Lingus

WORKERS at Aer Lingus have rejected a pay offer that would have given them a 5.5% increase above the Partnership 2000.

The award was made by a supposedly independent arbitrator, the former union official and now bank director, Phil Flynn.

Workers objected to the fact that the offer was linked to a framework that would have given Aer Lingus £42 million in savings.

The savings were to have been at workers expense.

They involved a restructuring of pay scales and possible training in front line areas.

As one worker told *Socialist Worker*:

"If this had gone through you would not have known whether you

would be working behind a desk or on the runway."

Pilots have already got a 9 percent increase and

other workers believe they should receive a similar rise without accepting worse conditions.

TEAM

Re-vote shows huge majority for action

TEAM workers have once again balloted by nine to one to take industrial action because the company has not paid them wage rises due under national agreements since 1996.

Workers are also demanding a restoration of their incremental salary

scale.

This is the second ballot to take place on the issue.

The company had threatened the union with the use of the Industrial Relations Act over the way the last ballot was conducted.

Unfortunately, union leaders brought in a barrister to ponder the mat-

ter for some weeks.

However the new vote shows that the anger in TEAM has not gone away.

For the last few weeks workers have imposed their own unofficial overtime ban.

This has forced the company to make a new offer but workers are still not satisfied with it.

Tesco

Workers ballot on industrial action

WORKERS in Crazy Prices, Quinns, Lifestyle and Stewarts shops are to be balloted on industrial action.

This follows a national meeting of shop stewards in both MANDATE and SIPTU which demanded the ballot on a series of half day strikes.

The meeting heard that the Labour Court had rejected a claim that workers should receive some of the £60 million

goodwill payment received by ABS when it sold the chain to Tesco earlier this year.

One shop steward told *Socialist Worker*, "The workers built up the goodwill. They should get a share of the payment."

Payment

"At the time of the takeover there was unofficial stoppages in a number of stores over the issue. That feeling has not gone away."

But the meeting was even more concerned with Tesco's plans which

threaten jobs in the chain. Tesco management have kept the workers in the dark.

A shop steward said, "We believe they intend to sell off bits. Stewarts in the North and Lifestyle are under threat."

There are strong rumours that Tesco will contract-out security.

"We are angry and we want straight answers. We want guarantees over future employment and conditions."

"The feeling at the meeting was very strong and I think there will be a big Yes vote in the ballot."

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

Inside:

Threatened job cuts at Fruit of the Loom

—Page 5

Solidarity price £1

Education is a right not a privilege

FIGHT BLAIR'S UNIVERSITY FEES

The Blair government's plans to introduce £1,000 fees for university and replace grants with loans is provoking widespread anger in the North.

The Tories cut education spending by reducing grants and forcing students to take out loans. Blair wants to finish off the Tories job by getting rid of free education.

The government has backed down on fees for gap-year students - those who defer the offer of a place for a year.

Ruling

Though the ruling will only apply to those who work for the voluntary sector during their year off. That's around 10,000 students.

The rest face debts of up to £10,000. On top of the £1,000 fees due to be introduced in 1998, Labour

plans to abolish grants, forcing university students to take out loans of £2,400 each year.

Dave, who is starting his second year at Queens University said, "I'm already in debt. The grant is so small

now that I had to take out a £1,600 loan and an overdraft to get through last year.

Cheque

My next grant cheque will just cover the overdraft from the bank.

Abolishing the grants is going to leave me with massive debts when I finish university."

The Dearing Report, which recommended the fees, admitted that in Northern Ireland "higher education attracts more students from poorer families."

Students from working class families are most dependent on grants. They will be even more dependent on loans, which make up the biggest part of the debt.

Who really benefits?

EDUCATION Minister, Tony Worthington, says students should pay fees because they get higher wages when they graduate.

But getting a degree is no guarantee of a high wage. The biggest single employer of graduates is the National Health Service, which is re-

nowned for low wages. The vast majority of teachers are stuck on low pay scales.

The people who really benefit from university education are the bosses, who exploit the skills of well-educated workers.

The priorities of universities are increasingly being dictated by business.

At Magee University in Derry, funding for social sci-

ence courses is being cut in favour of business and computing courses, designed to meet the needs of multinational companies like Seagate.

George Quigley, head of the Ulster Bank, which employs hundreds of university graduates, was on the Dearing Committee which recommended the fees along with other chief executives.

These same bosses are not prepared to contribute to the cost of education.

They continually demand lower taxation. In his first Budget, Labour Chancellor Gordon Brown reduced business tax in Britain to the lowest in Western Europe.



Militant action can stop these fees

The only way to stop fees and maintain grants is through massive student protests.

When Thatcher's Education Secretary, Keith Joseph, tried to introduce fees in 1984, huge student demonstrations forced him to back down.

The National Union of Students is currently balloting each Student Union executive on the question of demonstration against fees.

They are asking them to choose between national or

local demonstrations.

The National Union of Students is pushing for regional protests aimed at lobbying MPs.

It is essential that national demonstrations are called to show the depth of the anger at the fees.

Local action should be used to help build support for a national demonstration, not used as a substitute for it.

Socialist Worker is your paper

- I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party ☐
- I would like.....copies of Socialist Worker to sell ☐
- I would like the special introductory offer of 8 issues for £5 ☐
- I would like to take out a subscription: six months £9 ☐
- one year £18 ☐

Name.....

Address.....

.....Phone.....

Cheques/POs payable to Socialist Worker

Send to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

or PO Box 354, Tomb St Belfast

**Buy it,
read it,
sell it,
Join us!**

Give your name and address to your local seller or phone (01) 872 2682 or return form

**Socialist Worker
Public meetings**

Is there a Socialist alternative to Blair?

DERRY: 8pm Wednesday 3rd September, Tracey's Bar Waterloo St.

BELFAST: 8pm Thursday 4th September, Holiday Inn, Brunswick St.

ENNISKILLEN: 8pm Wednesday 3 September, Enniskillen Library

**Campaign for free education
DEFEND FREE EDUCATION
No university fees -
Maintain our grants**

PROTEST

Belfast: 3pm Thursday 11 September, Belfast Education and Library Board, Academy St
Derry: 3pm Tuesday 16 September, Western Education and Library Board offices, Central Library, Foyle St